1: Karsten--121 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 273 (1928-29)

"In the life of the Indians of the Amazon territory certain drinks play almost as important a part as the food. The beer brewed from the manioc root is in fact the 'national drink' of these natives, without which they could not exist. It is brewed in the way known from many South American tribes: the roots are boiled, a part of them is carefully masticated and mixed with saliva, the liquid is spat out into a special pot and mixed with a quantity of mashed, but not masticated, manioc, whereupon the whole mass is carefully stirred with a stick and the pot covered with banana leaves while the contents ferment. On the following day the substance is generally sufficiently fermented to be used. As mentioned before, it is kept in a special big clay pot which has its place in the women's department.

The manioc-beer cannot be brewed except by the women, a custom which the Indians themselves explain by pointing out that the manioc has 'a woman's soul' (wakańi) and that therefore only a woman can properly influence it for the purpose of bringing it to fermentation. But when ready, the drink is particularly appreciated by the men, serving them as food as well as a drink. When the Indian goes out on a journey, on a hunting, fishing, or war expedition, he never fails to take with him a quantity of the fermented manioc substance enveloped in banana leaves. By diluting some of the substance with water he can, while on a journey, prepare the beer whenever he likes, and as long as he has his nihamańchi he is able to do without any other food for days.

Exactly the same may be said of the Canelos Indians, who call the fermented manioc-beer asua.

Both tribes also brew a kind of beer from the boiled fruits of the chontaruru palm. The Jibaros have a special chontaruru feast which is celebrated at the time when the fruit of the chontaruru palm grows ripe, in February and March.

Similarly both tribes know, besides the ordinary manioc-beer, a special manioc-wine, called sangucha shiki by the Jibaros and shutushca yacu by the Canelos Indians. How the manioc-wine is prepared will appear from the descriptions I shall give later on of the feasts of the Jibaro Indians. On these occasions, as we shall see, the manioc-beer is also brewed with special ceremonies."

1: Karsten--193-195 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

"Another preliminary [WPM: to the tobacco feast] is the ceremony called Nauma, i.e. the chewing of the manioc root for the purpose of brewing manioc-beer, a ceremony that takes place three days before the feast proper begins. Early in the morning all the women of the house, headed by the girl in whose honour the feast is to be held, march out to the manioc fields in the neighbourhood with their baskets (changina) to fetch the great quantity of manioc roots necessary for the purpose. When the women have arrived at the field, the young bride first receives some juice of tobacco from an old woman. The first manioc root is pulled up and placed in the basket by the girl, her hand being held by the older woman. Thereupon all the women proceed to fill their baskets with manioc roots and carry them home.

Here the ceremony takes place which is called by the Indians Nauma, i.e. the ceremonial chewing of the manioc, in which women from different houses in the neighbourhood are invited to take part. First the roots are peeled and boiled in big clay pots placed on different fires in the house. When the manioc is soft, the pots are removed from the fires and the roots mashed, as is done with potatoes. The pots are arranged in a circle on the floor, some empty ones being placed in the middle. The women now sit down on the floor, each in front of a clay pot of manioc, and the chewing of the fruit begins. Each woman fills her mouth with the mashed fruit and masticates it for a long while with great care, over and over again, more or less like a ruminating cow. She

does not stop until the masticated substance is in a liquid state; then she stoops down towards the empty pot in front of her and [194] spits the white liquid into it. When the pots are more or less half full of this fluid, unmasticated mashed manioc is added until the vessels are full, and the whole mass is stirred. The mouths of the clay vessels are carefully covered with banana leaves and they are then placed in a particular place in the women's department close to two of the pillars supporting the house. Here the fermentation will take place, that wonderful process which to the Indian mind is supernatural and sacred, and is ascribed to the soul animating the manioc plant. In order that the fermentation may proceed quickly and without disturbing influences, the women finally sit round the clay pots covered with palm leaves and sing a sort of prayer or incantation to the spirit of the manioc plant.

Not only ordinary manioc-beer is brewed for a feast, but also a special manioc-beer and a kind of manioc-wine, both prepared from roasted manioc. While the pots were boiling in the house, the men had been roasting manioc roots outside, the roots being placed over a big fire on a frame made of tree branches and called pingána. A number of the biggest roots have been selected for the purpose and of these again two particularly well developed have been chosen, to be laid on the roasting frame by the young girl with the assistance of the priestess. Thereupon other roots are added without ceremony. As

soon as the roots are sufficiently roasted, they are placed on big banana leaves and taken into the house. Here two baskets (changina) are ceremonially filled with the roasted manioc roots by the girl, whose hands are constantly held by the priestess. The first two manioc roots, however, are prepared in a special way before being laid in the baskets. The bride, whose hands are held by the priestess, cuts up the root with a knife and puts into it a little salt, which she bites off from a bigger piece and puts into the manioc with a little saliva, a little bark from the stem of the manioc plant, and a little mould which has formed upon some old roasted pieces of manioc enveloped in leaves and kept for the particular purpose of preparing manioc-wine. Some more of the roasted manioc roots are treated in the same way, the rest being placed in the baskets as they are. When the baskets are full, they are covered with certain big leaves and hung up at the same pillars in the house where the clay pots containing ordinary manioc-beer are. They are left there for three days, in order that they may 'ripen' and become impregnated with the power of the salt and the other things put into the manioc roots. I was able to establish for [195] myself that this way of preparing them was by no means merely an empty ceremony, or due to superstition. When some days later I tasted one of the roasted manioc roots I found it had a peculiar sweetish flavour, and the Indians assured me that the wine to be prepared from these roots would be particularly strong.

The preparation both of the manioc-beer and the wine is continued on the first day of the feast, three days later,..."

1: Karsten--195-197 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

"I shall now describe shortly the ceremonies which take place on each of the four days devoted to the feast.

.... the young bride is, at the principal ceremonies performed at the feast, regularly assisted by an old experienced woman, who acts so to say as a priestess and in this capacity is called whuéa. Besides this there is an old man who has to assist at certain ceremonies and thus in a way acts as a priest. The young girl in whose honour the feast is held is called tsángrama. A sister of hers and another young female relative also take part in the principal ceremonies, and the tsángrama, her sister, and the third young woman are often mentioned in connection with one another.

The first day of a great feast is always called Utsándowai, i.e. 'The opening of the feast'. It begins early in the morning with the solemn entrance of the guests into the house. All guests invited to the feast have arrived on the day before, but they have passed the night in provisional shelters outside the house. Having arranged their dress and their ornaments and renewed their facial paintings, they enter the house headed by the old man who acts as priest at the feast. Once in the house, they arrange themselves in two rows from the door towards the centre and sit down on small seats (kutánga) placed there for the purpose. They are welcomed in the usual way with manioc-beer (nihamánchi), which is offered to them ceremonially by the women. In the middle of the room, close to the first central pillar, a number of big clay pots (muitsa) have been

placed; they contain food, pork and chicken. In front of these four women take their stand; the first of these is the principal person of the feast, the young bride, the second her sister, and the rest near female relations of hers. Each of them has a clay dish (pininga) filled with manioc-beer in her hands. The men now have to step forward to drink a little from the clay dish of each woman. The future husband of the young girl takes them there in their proper turns, beginning with the eldest guest and finishing with [196] the youngest; lastly he himself drinks. When this is done, the men start to eat. Some banana leaves are spread on the floor in front of the clay pots containing food, and upon these a number of clay dishes are placed. The dishes are filled with meat and boiled manioc and are thereafter distributed among the men, who also partake of the manioc-beer which is being constantly carried round by the women. While the eating and drinking is going on, some Indians beat the drums incessantly, as is customary at the Indian feasts.

The drinking-bout is continued the whole forenoon, the men retaining their seats. On the space between them various parties of women appear dancing. The dance--which is called Ihiámbrama--is started by the bride, her sister, and the priestess, whom three other women have joined. The women stand, three in each row, against each other moving alternately towards and from each other at a slow pace and making steps which

cannot exactly be described in words. Two Indians, who also move to and fro on the floor, accompany their dance by beating drums or playing flutes. The women, having danced for a while, are relieved by others, but the number of women appearing varies. Later on only four, three, or two appear at a time, and sometimes a woman is seen dancing solo, always accompanied by some men beating the drums. The dance and the drumming is thus continued for several hours.

In the afternoon the preparation of the manioc-beer and the manioc-wine is continued in so far as the roasted roots hung up in the two baskets are chewed, i.e. a new Nauma ceremony takes place. Of the masticated fruit a part is separated from the rest for the purpose of preparing the special manioc-beer referred to above, whereas of the rest of the masticated fruit the manioc-wine is prepared by the essence of the masticated substance being distilled. Since the procedure thereby will be minutely described in connection with the great victory feast, I shall not dwell on this detail here, and the same may be said of the manioc-beer which is brewed by using a special ferment of chewed manioc substance prepared earlier. The special manioc-beer prepared from roasted manioc roots is drunk on the third and fourth day of the feast after the principal ceremonies, whereas the manioc-wine, sangucha shiki, is drunk at the end of the feast before the guests depart.

In the evening the Indians again start dancing. First the dance Wuimchi is performed

round one of the central pillars, both men and [197] women, and even children taking part in it; then some of the women dance Ihiámbrama as before, accompanied by one or more men beating drums. At times both dances are performed at once in different parts of the house. This dancing is continued for the whole night or until dawn."

"The following day, that is, three days before the feast proper begins, the manioc-beer to be served to the many guests, and also a manioc-wine which is to be drunk at the end of the feast, are prepared. The preparation of both these drinks, and especially of the manioc-wine, is of a ceremonial character. The main thing is to make them as strong as possible, this being essential for the success of the feast. The slayer himself, therefore, must personally assist in the work in order to transfer his own power to the beverages. The leading principle in the whole Tsantsa-feast, as already mentioned, is that the slayer, by virtue of the close relation established between him and the spirit of his victim, becomes invested with supernatural power and knowledge which he is trying to use for his own ends and to make effective in different departments of his economic life.

Early in the morning all the women, headed by the wife of the slayer and the priestess (oháha), go out to the manioc fields to fetch the manioc for preparing the drinks mentioned. Each of the women carries one of the baskets (changina) just made, and they are accompanied by the men armed with lances. The manioc which is to be brought home by the wife of the slayer, and of which the important manioc-wine is to be prepared, is gathered with especial care. When the woman pulls up the first stalk of manioc--which ought to be particularly large and well grown--the priestess is holding her wrist and likewise helps her to lay it down in the basket. Then she fills the basket with other manioc roots without the aid of the priestess. The women return to the

house with their baskets in about two hours, and at once start the preparations. The fruit is washed and the majority of it is peeled, parted, and boiled in various large clay pots. From this manioc, by masticating and mashing the fruit, fermented manioc substance is later prepared. [328]

The manioc-wine (shiki) is prepared in another way. For this purpose the manioc is first roasted, not boiled, a work performed by the priest (whuéa) at a big fire outside the house, with the assistance of some other Indians. As soon as a sufficient quantity of the fruit has been roasted it is taken into the house and laid on some large banana leaves. At the side of it three baskets (changina) are placed, which are to be filled with the roasted fruit. A heap of certain large forest leaves, called kachini by the Jibaros, and another heap of a smaller kind of leaf called wambá are also placed close by. On a special banana leaf there is a piece of salt and a piece of the stem of the manioc plant with the rind, wich [sic] has previously been roasted.

Now the roasted fruit has to be laid in the three baskets, and at this the slayer himself and his wife and daughter have to assist, the priest (whuéa) conducting the ceremonies. The latter, who has previously prepared some tobacco juice in his nattipya, gives some of this medicine, first to the slayer and then to his wife and daughter, the first mentioned, as usual, receiving it through the nose, the latter through the mouth. The priest subsequently grasps the slayer by the wrist and the latter leans down and

takes one of the large kachini leaves and lays it carefully down upon the bottom of one of the three baskets. Thereupon he, with the aid of the priest, takes one of the smaller wamba leaves and lays it in the same way in the basket upon the first leaf. Then the slayer, whose hand is still held by the priest, takes one of the roasted maniocs and opens it with his fingers. An older Indian holds out the leaf with the salt and the roasted manioc stem, the latter having previously been scraped with a knife, so that a small quantity of a brown powder has been obtained. The slayer with two fingers takes a little of this powder and puts it into the parted manioc fruit. Then he takes a piece of salt, bites off a little of it, and puts this small piece into the fruit. He then closes the latter with his hands and lays it carefully in the basket upon the leaves previously laid there. Exactly the same is repeated with another manioc. The slayer opens the fruit with his fingers, puts a little of the brown powder as well as a small piece of salt into it, and then lays the fruit in the basket at the side of the manioc first placed there. Thereupon he takes a large kachini leaf, as well as a wambá leaf, and lays these in the basket upon the fruit. While all these operations are being performed the wrist of the slayer is held by the priest. Now the same is repeated with the wife of the slayer, whose right hand is held by the old man. She takes a manioc, opens it, sprinkles some of the brown powder and a [329] little salt into it, again closes it, and then places it in the basket upon the leaves last laid down there. A second manioc is in like manner put into

the basket by her. Lastly, she covers the fruit with a kachini and a wambá leaf, just as was done by the slayer. Finally, the daughter of the slayer performs the same action, putting two maniocs into the basket and covering them with the leaves, the girl being in the same way assisted by the priest. In all, six manioc fruits have thus been ceremonially placed in the basket.

An older Indian now continues the work of filling the basket with roasted manioc until it is nearly full, but he does it without ceremony and is not assisted by the priest. Nor is the brown powder or the salt put into the fruit. However, the last maniocs with which the basket is filled must again be laid down by the slayer, his wife, and daughter, and with the same ceremonies as before. Each of them thus, with the assistance of the priest, again places two maniocs in the basket, sprinkling some of the brown powder and a little salt into them and covering them with the leaves. The basket having been filled, the slayer, assisted by the priest, carefully covers it with leaves and ties it over with lianas.

With exactly the same ceremonies the two other baskets are filled, the slayer, his wife, and daughter always laying down the first and the last maniocs and covering them with leaves.

At the other end of the house, in the women's quarters, a sort of shelter or broad shelf has been made of split bamboo, resting upon four poles about 1 1/2 or 2 metres in

height. Under this shelter the large clay pots in which the manioc substance is laid for fermenting are later placed upon the ground. Even the three baskets containing the roasted manioc are brought here. They are not laid on the ground, but are hung up to the roof by means of a special pole fixed in the ground. The slayer himself carries the baskets here from the place where they had been filled with the fruit, the priest holding his hands. The slayer takes the pole and fixes it in the ground close to one of the four poles upon which the shelter rests. Other men complete the work, fixing the pole more steadily in the ground and tying it to the other poles. The slayer, whose hands are held by the priest, lifs [sic] up one of the three baskets and hangs it upon the pole. Thereafter, with the aid of the priest, he hangs the two other baskets upon the pole.

The baskets are left hanging here for three days until the beginning of the feast, manioc-wine being then prepared from them in a way to be described later. During these days the fruit will 'ripen' properly; [330] the powder and the salt put into the manioc will impregnate the fruit and exert some mysterious influence to the effect that the wine prepared from it will turn out exceedingly strong. To the kachini and wambá leaves, placed in the baskets, some mysterious influence is also ascribed.

While this work was being done by the slayer, his wife and daughter, and some of the men, the rest of the women, headed by the priestess, have been engaged in preparing the manioc-beer (nihamánchi). After the root has been boiled it has to be masticated,

a work which takes some two hours to perform. The masticating of the manioc for the feasts is a real ceremony and is called Nauma. Generally only the women take part in it, since the preparation of the beer is a work particularly incumbent on the women. Of the fruit, however, only a part, or at the most a half, is masticated. The rest of it is only mashed. The manioc masticated is thoroughly mixed with saliva and then spat into a number of large clay pots (muitsa). To each of these some of the mashed manioc is added and the whole substance is carefully stirred.

Generally the pots are now only covered with banana leaves and the substance allowed to ferment. For the great feasts, however, a special ferment, consisting of previously chewed and fermented manioc, is added in order that the beer may turn out stronger. A small clay vessel with this ferment is kept ready. The following operations are, in the main, carried out only by the women--first of all by the wife of the slayer, who is assisted by the priestess (oháha). However, even the slayer himself must assist at some actions, to transfer his power to the beverage. The wife of the slayer, whose hands are held by the priestess, carries each of the pots containing the manioc substance to the shelter before mentioned, where the fermentation will take place. Six or eight large pots are thus placed under the shelter in holes previously made in the ground for the purpose. In order that the pots may stand more steadily they are supported underneath by pieces of the genipa fruit. These pieces are placed under the pots by the

slayer in a ceremonial way, his hands being meantime held by the priest. The wife of the slayer, assisted by the oháha, now puts a little of the manioc ferment just mentioned into each of the pots, but before the ferment is put in the slayer has each time to taste a little of it. The pots are then carefully covered with large leaves by the wife of the slayer, whose hands are held by the oháha, and finally tied with lianas.

Some of the large clay pots are tied on the outside with strips of bast in such a way as to form ornamental figures or patterns like those formed [331] in basket weaving. The real significance of this arrangement is not quite clear. It is possible that its object is only to give strength to the pots so that they shall not burst at the fermentation of the manioc substance. But it is also possible that some mysterious power is ascribed to the strips as well as to the ornaments formed by them--a power which will promote the fermentation and contribute to making the beverage strong. This, at any rate, is the object of the genipa fruit placed under the pots. The genipa--from which the magical black body-paint is prepared--will communicate its power to the pots and the sacred substance contained in them, a power further increased by the fact that the slayer himself places the fruit there.

It is supposed to be of essential importance that the clay pots should be placed firmly in the ground, for then the fermentation also will take place steadily, and no disturbing influences will make themselves felt.

All these preparations have taken the main part of the day to accomplish, and are not finished until the afternoon. The fermentation, which in a way is the most important detail of the whole thing, however, still has to take place. In order to hurry or favourably influence the process of fermentation all the women sit down on the ground around the pots containing the manioc substance and, led by the priestess, sing a sort of chant or conjuration. With this ceremony, which lasts for about half an hour, the preparation of the manioc-beer ends.

The fact that only the women have to brew the manioc-beer--which is the rule among all Indians--is due to the same reason as makes the cultivation of the manioc fields a business solely incumbent on the female sex. According to the animistic ideas of the Jibaros, as we have seen, all plants are animated by human spirits (wakáni), some of male sex, some of female. The manioc, like most other domestic plants, has a woman's soul. Hence--according to the principle 'like is best known by like'--the women have to cultivate this plant just as, in regard to the preparation of the manioc-beer, they are believed to have a special power of promoting that mysterious and, to the Indian mind, unintelligible process of nature which is called fermentation."

"Later in the forenoon the preparation of the manioc-wine, which was begun three days ago, is continued. The roasted manioc which was then hung up in the three baskets, filled and arranged with so much care, is now supposed to have properly ripened. The slayer, accompanied [339] by the priest and other men, goes to the shelter where the baskets had been hung up. The slayer, with the aid of the priest, takes down the baskets one after the other and starts to open them, proceeding with the utmost care and being always assisted by the old man. The slayer and the priest both taste the fruit in each basket to convince themselves of its having acquired the necessary virtue for the preparation of the wine. The women start to masticate the roasted fruit in the same way as the boiled manioc is masticated for brewing ordinary manioc-beer. A part of the fruit masticated is then separated from the rest for the purpose of preparing a special manioc substance from it by means of fermentation. Of this substance a kind of manioc-beer will be brewed, to be drunk after the most important ceremony of the feast, the washing of the tsantsa, two days later. Again, of the rest of the fruit masticated the proper manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki), to be consumed on the last day of the feast, is prepared in the following way.

A clay pot is placed on the ground, and the slayer and his wife and daughter, as well as the priest, take their stand in front of it. On a banana leaf a number of wooden pins have been laid, made from the twigs of a special wild tree which the Jibaros call shuya and which produces a sweet black fruit similar to grapes. On another banana leaf have

been laid some leaves of another forest tree called apai. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes one of the shuya pins and slowly and carefully places it inside the pot--about in the middle of it--in a horizontal position. His wife and daughter, whose hands are likewise held by the priest, also put one pin each in the pot beside the first one. Another man completes the work, putting without ceremony some other similar pins into the pot until they have been laid along its whole breadth, with a distance of about half an inch between each. Now the slayer, with the aid of the priest, takes an apai leaf and cautiously places it across the shuya pins. The wife and the daughter do the same, each laying down one apai leaf in the pot at the side of the first one. Several more apai leaves are laid down, until the shuya pins are completely covered with them. Lastly, these leaves are perforated all over with a wooden pin, so that the whole thing becomes like a sieve.

The masticated manioc substance is now laid in the pot upon the leaves. The slayer and his wife and daughter again begin the work, each of them laying down, with the aid of the priest, a small quantity of the substance. The pot is wholly filled with it, and the mouth is covered first with some apai leaves and then with some large kachini leaves [340] (Alocasia macrorrhiza) the whole thing being lastly carefully tied over with lianas. The slayer, with the aid of the priest, now places the pot upon the shelter mentioned before, where it is left for two days and two nights. During this time the essence

in the masticated manioc substance will be distilled and drop into the lower empty part of the pot. This essence is the manioc-wine."

"Speaking of the lyric poetry of the Indians I have yet to mention the incantations sung at one of the minor feasts, the chontaruru-feast. The fruit of the important chontaruru palm (Guilielma), called ui in the Jibaro language, grows ripe in February and March and is particularly appreciated on account of the beer brewed from it. Besides this, the fruit offers the Indians a most nourishing food for about two months of the year.

The feast is arranged as soon as part of the fruit so impatiently awaited has ripened and beer can be brewed from it. The fruit is collected and carried home by the men, boiled in big clay pots in the same way as is the manioc, and then masticated and well mixed with saliva, whereupon the substance is allowed to ferment. The process of fermentation, which takes place at night, is 'hastened' by dancing, singing, and beating the big drum tundúi. Several big clay vessels (muitsa), the mouths of which are covered with banana leaves, are placed on the floor in the middle of the room. When darkness sets in, about six o'clock in the evening, all men and women arrange themselves in a ring round the clay vessels and start dancing and singing, in their incantations reviewing the whole 'history' of the chonta from the very moment the little sprout is planted in the earth by the men until the time which has now arrived when the tree is full-grown and its fruits have ripened. The dancing and chanting is continued until after midnight. Early in the following morning the drinking-feast begins. While the men drink and get intoxicated by the beer, they incessantly sing the following incantation in which they

address those quadrupeds and birds which in the animal kingdom most appreciate the chonta fruit, especially a parrot called tuishi, and another bird of the forest called kiruánchama, as well as the wild pig (pakki) which also eagerly eats the fruit that falls down from the chonta palms. They call these animals and birds poetically their 'brothers'and 'brothers-in-law', inviting them to take of the fruit which is now ripe and to prepare chontaruru-beer. Thus, the Indians fancy, the fruit will go on ripening and be abundant.

This incantation runs as follows:

Seiru kiruánchama,
amue ui nikápsata,
ui nikápsata!
Ui nereáwue, ui nereáwue, [500]
ui nereáwue!
Ui natinyu, ui natinyu.
Ityursanki nerecheindya,
nerecheindya, nerecheindya?

In translation:

'Parrot, my brother-in-law,
now come along and take of the chonta,

come and take of the chonta!
The chonta fruit is ripening, the chonta fruit is ripening!
Up to brew chonta-beer, up to brew chonta-beer!
Why does not the fruit quickly ripen,
Why does it not ripen?'

....

The men not only celebrate the chonta feast by chanting this incantation, but also by beating the big drum tundúi in the particular time that is customary at the Jibaro drinking-feasts and which has been referred to before (p. 111). By beating the drum in this way the Indians invite their ancestral spirits, who were great warriors and medicine-men and are now believed to live in the mountains and hills, to take part in the drinking-feast and to rejoice with their living descendants. These spirits, although in normal cases more feared than loved, now appear as the friends and allies of the Indians, being under the same [501] magical constraint as in the narcotic sleep produced by natéma or maikoa. From this point of view the great drinking-feasts of the Jibaros clearly assume a religious character."

3: Simson- 386 [5] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 273

"This chief sustenance of the Indian of these parts is made of the cassava root (yuca) boiled, and then partly chewed by the women, and partly mashed, after which it stands to ferment, on the third day becoming a little sharp in taste, which quality increases as the fermentation proceeds. Its consistency and appearance are much like mashed potatoes; and to prepare it for drinking a couple of ladlefuls (the hand is the ladle) are taken and worked and kneaded in a calabash of water, until well mixed: then all the coarser fibre, which floats on the surface, is removed with a fork (the digital one supplied by Nature), and the refreshing and sustaining beverage is in condition for drinking."

4: Up de Graff--252 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
273

"It is a curious fact, and one which throws a good deal of light on the much-discussed alcohol question, that any ignorant savage in the world will appreciate to the full his first drink of rum. It would appear that there is something in the natural constitution of man that answers to the call of alcohol."

12: Rivet--591-592 (no date) 1907 Jívaro -1
116, 273

The common drink is chicha, a fermented beverage, usually made with manioc, but also with bananas, the fruits of the chontaruru, etc. It is indispensable to the Jíbaro, who can withstand the privation of going without food for entire days, but does not know how to get along without his favorite beverage. In the course of his long war or hunting expeditions, if necessity demands, he gets along without anything but masato, that is to say fermented manioc paste carefully wrapped in a banana leaf, a small quantity of which mixed into water permits him to make an impromptu, pleasant, and strengthening beverage. Normally it is prepared by the women: it is called cooked or raw, depending on whether or not it has been cooked after fermentation. The first variety is stronger and has a better taste. The manufacture is as follows: the women take boiled pieces of manioc, crush them with their hands, then pound them on a batea with the aid of a piece of wood, and finally carefully chew the paste which, well mixed with saliva, is spit into a big clay pot containing cold water and a little fermented manioc. The mixture is stirred up with the hand and left to itself: in a few days it is ready. All the chichas, with various fruits from which they are made, are prepared in the same manner; they say that of chontaruru has a special taste. Daily the Jíbaro drinks enormous quantities of this beverage; [592] it is with that he gets himself intoxicated in the course of feasts and celebrations. Needless to say, after alcohol appeared in the eastern forests, it

made terrible ravages. The savage, like the civilized Indian, has an invincible leaning toward intemperance (1). Need I add that the Whites have no scruples against encouraging them in this vice by putting at their disposal at exorbitant prices the ignoble cane brandy.

1. However, Father Prieto wrote in 1815: "The Jíbaros are not drunkards and look upon the drunk man with scorn, a trait unusual among all the American Indians". Prieto. "Descripción de la provincia de los Jívaros," in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 65.

13: Rivet--247 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
273

The Jíbaro has a very tractable stomach; when, under the influence of drinking, he finds himself somewhat ill, he leaves an instant, vomits, hurries to bathe himself, and returns with high spirits to the house in order to recommence drinking, shouting and dancing.

18: Hermessen--443-444 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 273, 574

"From the former [KS: the yucca] the intoxicating liquor chicha was made. The method of its elaboration is not nice. The peeled or scraped tuber, after being boiled, is masticated by the women and set aside to ferment. For drinking, some of the unsavory mess is put into a shallow [444] receptacle full of water and worked and stirred with the fingers until the whole is well assimilated. The coarser fiber, as it comes to the surface is picked out, and the 'cup,' generally a calabash about a foot in diameter, is then ready to be passed round. To avoid giving offence, I had to take, or feign to take, a sip upon many occasions.

Great quantities of chicha are imbibed at Jíbaro feasts, a unique feature of which is that the host entertains vicariously, some other member of the house being appointed to represent him, while he wanders in Elysian fields under the influence of a narcotic made from a vine called ayahuasca (Inca, 'dead man's vine'; Banisteria caapi, Spruce). (23)"

"23. Op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 423-425."

20: Dyott--169 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 273

"Lunch over, the women gathered in a circle in the centre of the floor. A big earthen pot of steamed yuca was produced, and alongside of it was arranged the now almost empty nija-manchi jar. Inza mashed up the yuca roots with a stick, helped herself to a mouthful of the pulp, masticated it thoroughly and then spat it out into the other receptacle. Her companions did likewise and we left them engaged in this strange occupation of preparing their national drink. As soon as the big jar was full of the chewed-up mess, it was stood on one side and allowed to ferment. Fermentation is started by the action of human saliva, and the Indians have a notion that this mysterious phenomenon can only be produced by women, hence this rather unsatisfactory business falls to their lot."

20: Dyott--180 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 183, 273

"....Let us consider the Jivaro's attitude towards drunkenness. In London, a man might feel ashamed of himself if he drank to excess. In New York, such a condition might engender feelings of envy rather than scorn. But amongst the forest Indians, nothing but virtue is ascribed to those who get drunk. Their theory is that if it makes a man happy to get drunk, then let him drink often because the spirits want their children to be happy and any means to that end is justifiable."

25: Vigna--42 [2]
116, 273, 276, 484

(no date) 1945 Jivaro

The principal drink, --which is also often eaten--and liquor, is the chicha of yuca, called "nijamanchi." The women who are in charge of its preparation, masticate the cooked yuca and spit it into special bowls where the mass ferments within a few hours. Its taste is similar to that of curdled milk. During the morning they take an infusion of "guayusa" - leaf of a tree that contains much caffein and is a savory sedative. On journeys, the only food they carry is the chicha of concentrated yuca, which they take with water; they do not take any other food en route.

From Nazaret the canoe brings you in one hour up the river to the village S. Antonio, situated, like Nazaret, on the left bank of the river. When we arrived, a number of women were busy collecting maní in baskets and carrying them into the house. (This maní had been spread out in the sun for drying purposes.) Between the women children were playing. The Curaca Antonio lost no time in presenting himself. He was dressed in a khaki suit, trimmed with golden galloons and metal buttons. He seemed to be quite proud of his suit, though this hangover from civilization was rather dirty and shabby. He had received it as a present from the rubber collector in Nazaret. Instantly he invited us to enter one of the houses, where he placed himself on one of the low seats motioning to us that we should do so likewise. He called on the women to serve us Masato. One after the other of these women came with their drinking cups, and one had to accept each one of them, though it requires the stomach of an Indian to carry out these rites of politeness. We reciprocated by giving him needles, sewing yarn, and small round mirrors. The house was very tidy and clean. I counted eight beds. In the course of time male Indians arrived, all eager to drink Masato. We also visited the other house which was still open on the sides (Illustration number 2).

Soon many Indians appeared, decorated with the ornaments of war, most of them armed with Winchester repeating rifles, and all of them drunk, which did not prevent them from drinking more Masato. I was accompanied by employees of the rubber collector, and

they told me that these drunken Indians had come from an assembly where they had made a brew from the narcotic liana [55] called Ayahuasca (a Quichua word) by the whites and Náktém by the Indians. They had made the brew in order to get enlightened as to the feasibility of a certain raiding expedition. It may very well have been the decision with regard to the revolt against the whites which happened in 1904. In spite of their drunkenness all of these Indians behaved properly, they even appeared very amiable.

26: Brüning--55 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 273, 579

We have been informed of occasional brawls between drunken Indians. In the foreground of Illustration 2 one can see one of these noble warriors standing next to a member of our expedition and holding a drinking cup to his mouth. The small woman is submissively waiting until her master has emptied the cup so that she can fill it again.

As a beverage the Indians prepare a brew from the yucca. This beverage is not only a stimulant but also of nutritional value, as you may judge from the way it is being prepared. Here is the manner of preparation: first the yucca is skinned and washed [68] Then it is cut crosswise into pieces 8 or 10 cm. in length, so that they can be easily placed in a pot. After the pot has been filled to the brim with such pieces, water is added so that the entire yucca is covered. The pot is then covered with a large leaf which is tied around the top. The pot is kept over a fire until the yucca is done. Then the water is poured off. They wait until the yucca gets cold. The women who are seated around the pot, take a part of the yucca and chew it, spitting the chewed mass back into the pot. With the help of a sort of kitchen ladle the whole mass is mashed so that the chewed mass is distributed among the non-chewed yucca. This entire mass is called nijamántši. It is now ready for use. In order to prepare the beverage, the woman takes a handful of this mash and puts it in a sort of strainer--a totuma bowl with tiny holes. Water is added to the bowl, and the mash is stirred by hand. The water with the starch granules runs through the holes into the drinking-bowl underneath. The fibers remain in the tutuma and are later thrown away.

This yucca mash is always prepared in great quantities. The storing vessels are sealed with leaves, and the content soon undergoes fermentation, thereby assuming a sour smell and taste. The beverage obtained from this mash is very refreshing, tastes and looks like butter milk. In this state it is slightly intoxicating, but you would have to

drink a lot in order to get really drunk. I have never succeeded in this, because I was always full before the drink could show its efficacy. The Indians are able to drink incredible quantities and, as a consequence, become slightly tipsy. They can do without almost anything else, but they must have their nijamántši.

26: Brüning--68 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 273

When we travelled downstream on the Marañón, we left the main portion of our food supplies (masato and bananas) under a protecting roof which one of the former travellers had built on the high bank of the Marañón approximately opposite the mouth of the Santiago River. We were going to the Puerto Meléndez and hoped to be back in a few days. We wanted to bring our canoes through the Pongo de Manseriche carrying as little load as possible. After our arrival in the Puerto Meléndez, however, the Marañón River began to rise considerably, so that we were forced to stay for a few more days in the Puerto Meléndez. Finally, we were able to make the return voyage. When we arrived at our storage site, we found there only a huge field of slime and mud. The River had risen about 6 meters. The protecting roof was collapsed, and everything was covered with mud. Though there was little hope to find something of our food provisions, the Indians did not hesitate to search through the mud and under the roof for the masato pots, and they were lucky enough to find them, but, judging from the smell, the masato was in a state of definite decay, which did not prevent the Indians from devouring it without water.

28: Tessman--352 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 273

Massato (nixamántsi) is obtained from manihot with the chewed sweet potato acting as fermenting agent. They drink it only infrequently. They may also add the juice of sugar-cane. Aside from manihot massato they have, according to Karsten (Beiträge, etc., p. 36) a manihot wine (sanucha shiki), which is made of toasted manihot.

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
719 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon readi-
ness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself, each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
(554) his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[721] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off, eyes and mouth are sewed up, hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks. smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
[784] Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[269] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
● 273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[931] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless
drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutanú*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Rémovable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*címpui*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

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241 their food in a living state in the ground and only need to dig it up, as desired, to supply food and to make the large quantities of manioc beer which constitute a basic part of their diet.

• 273 The manioc beer (*nihamanči*) is prepared by first peeling and washing the tubers in the stream near the garden. Then the water and manioc are brought to the house, where the tubers are cut up and placed in a pot to boil (see Plates 4, 5 and 10). When the manioc has become soft, the pot is removed from the fire and allowed to cool. The manioc is then mashed and stirred to a soft consistency with the aid of a special wooden paddle (see Plate 6). While the woman stirs the mash, she chews handfuls and spits them back into the pot, a process which may take half an hour or longer. The mastication of the mash is considered by the Jívaro to be essential to the proper and rapid fermentation of the brew, and their view seems to be supported by Western physicians who have informally voiced the opinion that the enzymes in the saliva, as well as the bacteria in the mouth, probably hasten the fermentation process.

After the mash has been prepared, it is transferred to a beer storage jar and left to ferment. Although the fermentation takes place rapidly, the beer is usually too much in demand to be allowed to sit very long. In being served, the beer is strained through a tree-gourd sieve to remove manioc fibers, and about one part of water is added to two parts of beer. The resultant liquid tastes somewhat like a pleasingly [271] alcoholic buttermilk and is most refreshing. The Jívaro consider it to be far superior to plain water, which they drink only in emergencies such as when their beer canteens run dry while they are out hunting. Male informants, in addition, expressed the opinion that the beer is at its best if it has been chewed by a pretty girl rather than by an old woman. Beer is also made, in a slightly different fashion (see Plate 7), sea-

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sonally from the fruits of the chonta palm (*Guilielma* 273 •
utilis).

A rough estimate of the average daily beer consumption [146]
of the adult male is three to four gallons, of the adult female, [855]
approximately one to two gallons, and of nine- to ten-year-old children, about half a gallon. The beer must ferment for four or five days to reach its maximum alcoholic content, but this is usually intentionally done only for feasts planned in advance. On the other hand, a jar or two of beer may reach such strength simply because it has not been consumed, in which case its availability provides an occasion to invite neighbors to come by for a drinking and dancing party.

The division of labor between men and women in agricul- 462
tural activities is well defined. Women do most of the laborious garden work, being exclusively responsible for planting and harvesting manioc, Araceae species, sweet potato, *papa china*, red pepper, sugar cane, onion, and pineapple. Men and women work together to plant peanuts, but only women harvest them. Men alone plant and harvest maize. They also plant plantain and the "gold" bananas, but let the women do the harvesting. Women have sole responsibility for the arduous and never ending task of weeding. They use the machete as the weeding tool, scraping the earth to cut off all weeds at ground level. This task consumes the greatest amount of their time in the garden.

An idea of the nature of the sexual division of labor and, 273
incidentally, of the importance of manioc beer, may be 462
provided by the following log of a daily subsistence routine. 512
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The husband gets up from his wife's bed at about 2 A.M., goes to the men's end of the house and sits down on a stool. He washes his mouth out with water from a gourd "bottle" at his side. He calls to his wife to "bring beer." She heats up some water and mixes it with manioc beer, and brings a pot of it to him. She

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serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burning cupal torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and heals plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife brings more beer and serves it.

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is swelteringly down.

[224]

The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a large pot of beer and serves continually from it until down. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

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They return home from the hunt at about 2 P.M., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives out pieces of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

When all is eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

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and hands with water from the gourd "bottle." Then the husband, getting up, calls to his wife to bring beer. Having drunk more beer, he lies down on the bed in the men's end of the house. He rests until approximately 5 P.M., while his wife goes to the garden, brings back manioc, and cooks it. He then gets up and tells his wife to bring beer. She carries in calabash bowls of beer. The husband then tells her to bring manioc and meat.

After this meal, his wife brings in a small pot of beer. The men take only two servings of beer apiece, and then converse. They talk about twenty minutes, and take new servings of beer. The wife stays at the side of her husband during these twenty minutes, sometimes participating in the conversation. After this second serving, the wife returns to her end of the house, and the men continue talking until dark. Then the wife brings in a coyol torch and lights it. They talk once more and then drink beer again. Finally they finish the pot of beer and the wife returns to her end of the house with it. There she goes to bed, while the men continue their conversation. She rests about half an hour, when her husband calls her to serve beer. She brings a pot of it. The men drink and she remains with them. When they finish the beer, the wife returns to her end of the house, washes out the pot and the calabash serving bowl, and stores them for the night. Then she goes to bed. After half an hour, the men go to bed also, her husband joining her in the women's end of the house, the male visitor sleeping on the husband's daytime bed in the men's end of the house.

For the same household, this is a record of an alternative schedule, on a day when the husband decided to fell trees to make a garden clearing instead of going hunting. The routine up to dawn is similar:

Then he tells his wife of his intention to work clearing trees. She puts a pot of beer into a carrying basket and packs manioc

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and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm. Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.

When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer constantly and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more important to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this variety is typically accompanied by low density of population for any particular species. This low density sometimes

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of insects and fruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main kinds of gathered foods.

Insects particularly are relished as food items, both in larval and mature forms. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms are cut open to collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs (*mukintü*, *čarančam*), and the ivory nut palm often yields larvae of a large moth (*wampan*). Cocoons containing grubs of the butterfly *tampirulü* are removed from hanging vines. Leaf-eating ants (*aiyanü*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tsampuntü*) also are collected.

The various species of palms are the most important source of wild plant food. The chonta (*Guilielma utilis*), royal, and other palms (*kiyak*, *kuakai*, *ampakai*, *tirintü*) are chopped down with machetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the *ampakai*, these palms (together with the ivory nut palm and *kumai*) also supply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible fruits, which are both eaten boiled and made into beer. Frequently young tender leaves are collected from other plants (*uwasi*, *nučimi*, *ipü*, *wampar*), but no wild roots are dug up for food. Generally, the only tool used in all these gathering activities is the machete.

Virtually all families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, and a very few keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to wander relatively freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they start rooting in the garden, a low rail fence may be built around it to keep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to threaten the garden, because of the long distances between houses and the small numbers of pigs kept.

Chickens, ducks, and their eggs are utilized for food, especially to feed visitors when no game is on hand. In the uncommon cases where pigs are kept, the family usually is planning a *tsantsa* feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to

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412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the machete are characteristically simple but well made, although a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen on the handles of stools and mortar boards, and on the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

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321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob-
[534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt ra-
[413] ttles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey
[415] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns
[399] traded from the frontier Jívaro.

Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em-
412 ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the
[844] umbilicus of a new-born infant, and sometimes a hardwood
[244] weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a
[294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of
[415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the
[291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag-
[294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*uwali*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing
[252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash
[273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see
[235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

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stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been mentioned previously.

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of the *apáiamo* tree is powdered for tempering material in food bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of miniature drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unslickened irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, averaging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves.

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and

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beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating. Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing food, a wickerwork type for carrying fish, and a relatively insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other personal effects. Matting is unknown.

Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Winchester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pumpaction weapons, are so worn that they can function only as single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the cartridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

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[590] [illegible] afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

595 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives ensure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jívaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host, and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nunuí, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

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4. Woman carrying gourd water container and a basket of freshly peeled sweet manioc roots (Rio Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

1. Woman chopping up sweet manioc prior to boiling it as the first step in making beer (Rio Cusuimi, 1956–57).

6. Stirring the boiled manioc with a wooden paddle. This is done in conjunction with mastication to prepare the mash for fermentation (Rio Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

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293 7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and
415 pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup
291 is the author's (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).
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When you are living well, then, with all your ai and pali, if someone comes and kills your ai, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to battle in the sacred wasteland, *ara arasam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arasam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the fighting will end.

Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a sip and then you can get up and drink some more. Drink. Never speak harshly, because some men then start fighting with their pali. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

Young single men spend a great deal of time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

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527 Parties, centering around massive beer drinking and homo-
[279] sexual, or social dances, are the main form of regular group
[319] interaction with neighbors. More typically they occur when
a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to
expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors
[251] to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his
wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during
the next few days does much hunting until he has brought
home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained
first is roasted and kept dry and suspended in a basket high
[278] over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently,
and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who
are also usually close relatives.

574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can
simply occur when another family happens to drop by on
an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respect-
[285] able beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party
is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since
the beer may not have wild game meat immediately on hand.
[279] Planned parties occur when cheese palm fruit is harvested
[752] and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has
survived malaria.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for
574 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be
585 brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the
527 women put on snail shell dance bells, and the drinkers begin
to dance in pairs, males facing females. The women hop
up and down, her shell bells sinking the rhythm, while her
male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around
[319] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are
lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night
or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance
589 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,
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each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The content is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an ironic humor. The following are two examples of these *hanumat* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a man.

Why are you so near to me?
For they will come after us.
This other one
Who came very close
Caused me to boil.
It would be better if you
Got farther away.
And what is your name?
I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.

I asked her,
"Where are you going?"
She answered me, saying,
"I go deep into the eastern forest."
That is what she told me.
By the way,
Another truth is that a mouse can talk!

While such *hanumat* songs have a courtship function between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, including married persons dancing with the spouses of others. As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require frequent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that

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which was their publicly implied intention. As the drunkenness develops, men may get into arguments over normally repressed grievances or over allegedly flirtatious behavior with someone else's wife. Wrestling may ensue, or even hitting with a convenient palm wood slat. However, most parties do not involve such unpleasantness and end rather calmly as some of the participants pass out from drinking and exhaustion. If the head of the household has thus collapsed, a wife or daughter of his may make her way to an unmarried visitor's bed and spend part of the night with him.

The next day may be characterized by a "hangover" which is social as well as biochemical, when the various participants, embarrassed or angered over the previous night's events, face each other in the plain light of day. Hurried leave-takings may occur as visitors depart for their homes. While the early part of the prior evening's party may have given rise to temporary feelings of good fellowship, the later activities commonly tend to result in a "morning after" whose brooding mood hardly gives the impression that the parties are a clear-cut mechanism for social solidarity.

The most successful party-givers and hosts are those men who, in addition to having two or three wives to produce large amounts of beer and food, are respected by their neighbors for: their renown as killers in feuds and war, or as shamans; the achievement of age sufficient to have grandchildren; and who are generally of an amiable, honest, and magnanimous nature when dealing with those who are not their enemies. A man who has most of these characteristics is referred to by the term *untă*, which means "big" or "old" man. The demeanor of party participants in the house of such a man tends to be more circumspect and respectful of the master of the house, and excesses such as arguments and brawls seem to occur less often.

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that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and food, in keeping with Jivaro etiquette. The host is also honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even though the woman serving it dips her hand into the bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate probably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jivaro recognize that one of the major motivations for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

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16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving manioc beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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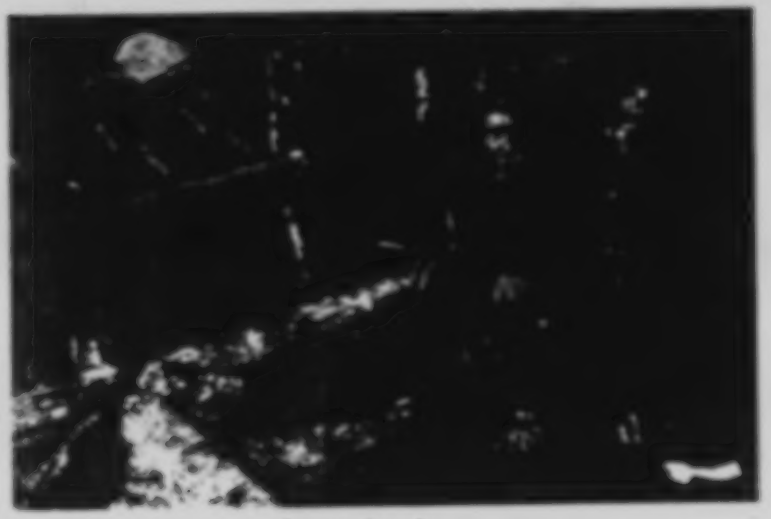
17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).



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as accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jivaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jivaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*tsamí*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the